7- Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

421 till the chapters on "Kinship Structure and Marriage Patterns" and "The Patterns of Culture Change.")

BUILDINGS, HOUSES, AND HOUSE-TYPES

361 The map (Fig. 3) indicates the location of the institutional buildings in the village proper. Four of the six shops (sing. *dikkaan*, plur. *dakaakiin*) are concentrated in the *sahe*. Actually, building 9 was not open during the period of study, but building 6 is partitioned into halves in each of which there is an independent shop. Building 10 is also partitioned, one half being devoted to a shop whose proprietor is also a butcher. The other half is open when the need arises, being the place of business of one of the two barbers. Building 11, an old house, is occupied by the fifth shop, open only at times, which specializes in cloth. The sixth shop, also not of the "general-store" type, is located in the house of its proprietor, further down the main road. The two schools are rather widely separated, but this is probably accidental since the location of the private school is determined by the fact that it occupies the lower floor of the master's own house. Similarly the two bakeries, one in the *sahe*, are immediately adjacent to the houses of their respective owners, one of whom is the private school master. Building 5 is the only one in the village which is entirely devoted to an olive press. There are, however, two other presses in the village proper (one in the lower part of the one remaining occupied house in the al-Wusiiyya section, the other in the lower part of a house near the meeting point of the Sar at-Tiini and Dayr al-Qamiis sections); there is a third under construction in the eastern end of the *sahe*, and a fourth at Hilwi. Two of these presses are specialized for the reduction of carob pods to a mush from which *dibs*, a kind of jam, is made. There is also a mill, operated by a German-made gasoline engine, which is part of the store in building 8. The upper story, and part of the lower story, of building 8 is occupied by one of the Affiliate Families (see next chapter) of the village.

361 It has been noted that the long axis of most of the houses is parallel to the contours of the ridge, often flush with terrace walls. Not infrequently the paths between the houses are, in fact, the tops of wide terrace walls, and sometimes these are two or three feet higher than the earth which they support.

342 The great majority of the houses have two levels. In some cases these are directly superimposed. In many others, they are staggered, so that the roof of the lower level forms a very useful terrace which is flush with the floor of the upper level. There are invariably separate entrances to the upper and lower levels. The writer is aware of not a single instance of interior staircases leading from one level to another. Probably the reason for this is that staircases would take up a great deal of room which cannot be afforded. Frequently, the pitch of the ground is such that one can simply walk onto the roof of a house directly or by a very short flight of steps. More frequently, however, one must climb onto roofs, either on

1 - [AL-Munsif -- Analyst]

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

a wooden ladder or by an ascending series of stones projecting from the wall of the building.

The flat roofs are used extensively in the sunny part of the year. Apricots, almonds, and grapes are set out on them to dry. Many householders ornament them with potted plants and receive guests on them. In the hot of midsummer, the interiors of the houses tend to be stuffy at night since the gentle breezes do not penetrate inside. Consequently, all who can, sleep on the roof (or terrace) under a brush shelter called *khayme* ("tent").

Although no two houses are exactly the same, it is legitimate to classify all of them into a number of types, which are indices of successive eras in construction and design.

The first, which still has the greatest number of examples, has two subtypes. By far the most numerous of these has one room on the upper level, few windows, but often more than one door, and a flat earth roof. The lower level (*qabū*) is designed as a stable and storeroom and frequently consists of dung, low barrel-vault. The roof of the upper level (living quarters for the family) may or may not be supported on masonry pillars and arches, in addition to the outer walls. The walls are usually very thick, often exceeding three feet. In the old style of construction was two (dry-laid) stone walls with a rubble fill between them. The roof of the old-style house is constructed as follows: round or semi-round beams are laid from the top of one wall to the opposite one at right angles to the long axis of the house. A layer of shorter, thick sticks is placed across the beams, and then a layer of finer sticks is added. Finally, a layer of earth about a foot thick is packed down as hard as possible on top. To prevent leaking, the roof must be packed down several times each winter; for this purpose every old-style house is equipped with a stone roller (*madjū*), weighing about a hundred pounds. These houses are dark inside because of the paucity of windows which are unglazed and closed by solid wooden shutters. To counteract this, the inside plastered walls are either whitewashed or painted very pale blue. There is everymion to suppose that this style of house is very ancient indeed. However, none of the existing examples of it in Mansūf is probably more than a hundred and fifty years old, and some are probably as little as sixty years old. Repairs—sometimes amounting to rebuilding—and alterations have always been a matter of course. However, no houses of this type have been built since the early 1890's. Feuleme (1946, p. 267) says that this traditional Lebanese house is well adapted to its environment. It provides insulation against the chilly blasts of winter and against the heat of summer as effectively as any essentially primitive construction could.

The second subtype of old-style house has only two examples in the village. The construction is essentially the same as the foregoing, but the following features are added: two or more distinctly separate rooms in the upper level; sculptured ornamentation, including fully round columns, around the windows; and glazed ornamental windows, with rather elaborate designs formed by the lead mullions,

7: Gulick E-S (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

usually in a row of three rounded or pointed arches. These were evidently the dwellings of people of some affluence, although no stories were related about this. The houses are evidently eighty to ninety years old.

The second house-type is the tile-roof style which was typical of the period 1890 to 1914. It was stated that all the tile-roof houses in the village were built with funds earned by emigrants in, or returned from, America. By and large, this is probably true. For Lebanon as a whole, Thoumin (1936, p. 295) makes the same statement. Woolmer (1946, p. 250) points out that this style of house, which is very common in Lebanon, is a symbol of prestige and wealth. Féaux (1948a, p. 163), commenting on this statement, says that actually this is no longer true, for now it is the even more European-style villa (*fille*) which the rich and influential build for themselves—not in ordinary villages, but in the luxurious suburbs and mountain resorts. At any rate, the tile-roof house, in Munşif as elsewhere, is one of the earliest and most conspicuous items in the process of material acculturation. The tiles are flat and grooved, mostly made in France—rather different from the semi-cylindrical Spanish and Italian tiles.

A map in Thoumin (1936, p. 220) indicates that Munşif is an area of relatively high frequency of tile roofs. Somewhat less than a third of the village's houses now have them.

There are two subtypes of the tile-roof house. The first is very like the old-style house in that it has only one room above, and a storage room or stable below. The major differences are the roof style, the fact that the masonry courses tend to be more even and are frequently wet-laid and the fact that there are more windows, mostly still unglazed.

The second subtype of the tile roof house is more elaborate. The triple arch, its glazed windows—which sometimes have some panes of colored glass—or its arcades, is a conspicuous feature of these houses. There is usually an ornamental cornice just below the roof, and just below the cornice there frequently are small round windows. These appear high up on the interior walls, which are often as much as twenty feet high, from floor to ceiling. The ornamental windows are invariably glazed, and others usually are. The panes of a window are set in double, wooden casements which open inward. In addition, there are solid wooden shutters outside. The doors and shutters of houses of all types usually have simple rectangular panels, and the doors have big iron locks with keys to match them in size. Some of the large tile-roof houses, however, have rather elaborate doors, somewhat baroque in style.

The interior floor plan of the large tile-roof house consists essentially of a large central salon (*maq'ad*—"seat") off which open perhaps two rooms on each side. The ornamental windows occupy a third wall of the *maq'ad*, with the front door in the opposite, fourth, wall. Assuming that this idealized pattern forms a rectangular plan, we can add that it is often modified into a shallow U-shape by building additional rooms on either side of the front door. The kitchen very often

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

occupies one of these rooms, and perhaps the other is a work room. The cistern is likely to be enclosed by one or the other of them.

Many of the tile-roof houses have the thick old-style walls, but some do not. Limestone, often fossiliferous, is the universal building material. The floors are of cement, or stone flags, or both.

After the era of great prosperity which ended with the start of the First World War, there appears to have been no building to speak of until the 1950's.

Of the modern houses, there are six which are essentially additions to older structures, either second storeys or side-by-side with, and connected to, the old. Three more are entirely new. These nine conform to older patterns in their limestone masonry, rectangular plan, and room arrangement. The walls are, however, relatively thin, and cement is used much more liberally than of old to hold the stones together. Projecting porches, supported by cylindrical concrete pillars, are a new feature, but the most outstanding innovation is the flat, concrete roof.

There are two more modern houses each of which is in a class by itself. One is the highest house in the village, and at first glance it does not seem unusual. It is built of limestone and has a tile roof. On closer inspection, however, a number of unusual features become evident. There is an extensive ell and a projecting porch in back. A set of garden path leads to the front door on each side of which there is a trellis. The windows are large, and, of course, glazed. This house is somewhat in the style of the villas which can be seen in Lebanese mountain resorts. Its builder and owner is a man who works and lives in Tripoli, except in the summer.

The other modern house of special note represents the most radical departure from the old patterns. It is not yet complete, consisting only of the frame which is made of reinforced concrete and concrete blocks. (The old-type construction does not require a frame.) Probably it will have a limestone facing, including some curved surfaces, when it is finished, and it will conform in design and construction to a modernistic European style which is frequently seen elsewhere in Lebanon. This house, too, is being built by a summer resident.

The great increase in the use of concrete is worthy of comment, for cement is one of the few important non-agricultural products of modern Lebanon. Consequently, it is relatively inexpensive. In addition to this, there is its admirable property of plasticity. However, its use in roofs is, in the writer's opinion, a poor environmental adaptation. In winter, concrete roofs make cold, damp ceilings. In summer, they radiate a great deal of heat, and the rooms which have them usually become very hot.

The significance of the ruined houses (*khirbi*) is much more of a social than a material nature. Many ruined houses are used as latrines for there are few specially constructed privies in the village; at least one has its floor plowed up, and this is planted to onions. Otherwise, the ruins have no function whatever. It might be thought that the stones of which they are built would be removed and used in

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1965 ME1 Lebanon ME1

new constructions. This is not the case—at least, it is not to an observable degree. All the stones used in new building in the village are freshly quarried. Perhaps the reason for this is that nearly all the ruins have recognized owners, nearly all of whom are emigrants or their descendants. Even the villagers now admit that "they will never come back," but their property rights are still maintained, either because the older emigrants hesitate to relinquish their claims or because their American-born children are uninterested, both of which prevent local disposition of the property. However, most of the new ruined houses were of the old style, whose roofs would naturally go to pieces if not tended. Consequently, the roofs were removed so that the very valuable timbers in them could be used for other purposes. This hastened the partial collapse of many of the buildings' walls.

HOUSEHOLD ARRANGEMENT AND FURNISHINGS

Nearly every house has its own cistern (*bir*), either within the building or just outside it. The water is entirely winter rain water drawn from the roof of the house and conducted to the cistern, nowadays, by sheet-iron pipes. This is much more efficient than the older method of letting the water flow down a shallow vertical trough on the outside of the wall of the building. The cisterns have circular openings raised off the ground or floor on a stone or concrete curbing. The opening is fitted, more or less tightly, with a wooden cover.

It is one of the women's jobs to draw water from the cistern by means of a sheet-iron, European-made, bucket attached to a chain or rope. The water needed for the day is stored in large, two-handled, pointed-bottom jars (*jarra*), of pottery earthenware, which stand in wooden frames in the kitchen corner, or the kitchen room if there is one. From the *jarra*, water is transferred to cooking utensils, to the spouted pottery or glass drinking jars (*ibriq*), and to the two to three gallon, semi-cylindrical metal tanks in which washing water is stored. These hang against an outside wall or in the wash room if there is one. The tanks are called *hanafiyi*, a term primarily applied to the small brass spigots with which they are fitted. The term is derived from the Hanafi school of Muslim jurisprudence which decided that the use of spigots was not a violation of the provisions of the Koran. Near the *hanafiyi* one usually finds a dish for soap and a towel-rack. A few houses are equipped with hand-pumps, a raised tank, and a limited system of pipes and spigots. This, however, is unusual.

The interior arrangement of the one-room house is essentially the same in every case, although of course there are many minor variations. The following description is composite. On entering the front door, one will observe that the room is divided into two sections, front and back. The division is effected by tall cabinets, with doors and drawers, placed across the room. These are used for keeping clothes, dishes, and so on. This means of division may be supplemented by a curtain. In the front section, a long wooden seat, really a bench with a back and

7: Gulick E-3 (1952) 1959 ME1 Lebanon ME1

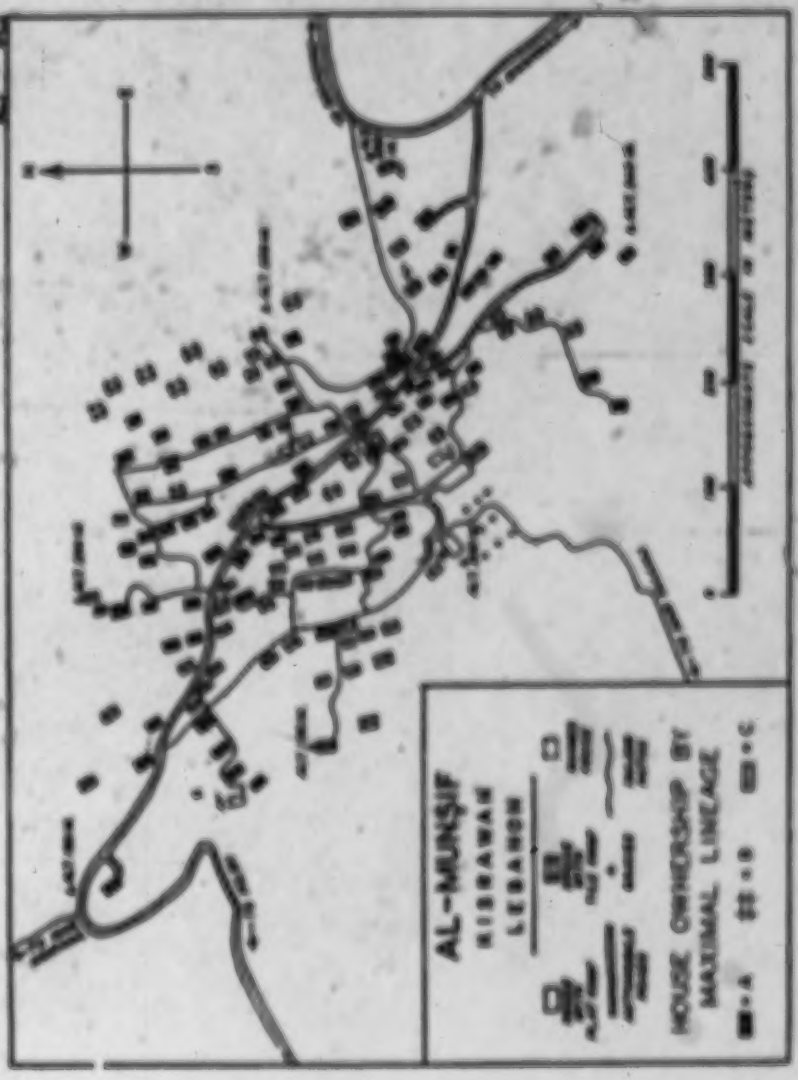

Fig. 4. Al-Munsif: Road Orientation of Maternal Lineage

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HOUSE TYPES: OLD-STYLE

following p. 41 (4)

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 MK1 Lebanon MK1

342

HOUSES THROUGH THE RAIN THEIR ROOF SEEN

following p 191 (5)

7: Gulick E-S (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

342

Gulick p 191 (6)

Homs Type: Modern

434 It is evident that in all the villages the great majority of the breadwinners must depend on sources of income other than their own fields. Therefore, younger members of the family seek income outside of the village, while the farmer himself must work part-time for one of the larger landlords or the oil company, hold a government job, get money from abroad, or subsist on a very low level.

Physical Description of Project Villages

392 It is not possible to describe with statistical accuracy the «average village home» in the project 365 area. A very general description must suffice until more detailed information is available. Homes are usually one-story stone structures of one or two rooms. They do not have electricity or running water. Usually the animals are accomodated in a stable connected to the house, or in a room in the house itself.

364 The villagers do not seem to be concerned with keeping their surroundings sanitary. In none 511 of the villages is there any attempt to collect and properly dispose of garbage. The uniform practice 744 is to «throw it in the fields». There are few toilets. Stone walls and fields close to town attest to 515 means commonly used for sewage disposal. To serve the 5,645 people in the project area there are 82 pit privies. There are no tubs or showers. Homes have no screens and flies are free to contaminate food and mosquitoes to torment and transmit disease.

515 Homes are nearly always neat and clean and the people attempt to clothe themselves decently 602 with well-scrubbed garments. Though extremely poor, the village family is very hospitable and 514 insists on sharing with a guest its meager supply of cigarettes or treasured coffee and sugar.

361 In the five project villages there are 1,100 buildings. This number includes 912 dwelling units, 34 business establishments, 143 separate barns and 11 public buildings. A detailed break-down of the types of buildings by village is shown in Table VIII. Included in the category of public buildings are seven mosques. Sarafand and En-Naariyah have two mosques each, while in each

110 The schedule included a number of questions designed to find out the status of housing in Beirut. These included the age of buildings, construction materials, building installations, condition of buildings, amount of crowding, and extent of home ownership.

7.1 Type of dwelling. Table 94

362 Beirut is a city of multiple family residences. Sixty-five percent of the sample was composed of residential buildings with two or more families in residence while only eighteen percent were single family. When it is realized that a good many of these one family houses are shacks it can be seen that the single family villa is not characteristic.

7.2 Basis of occupation of household. Table 95

362 Ownership of buildings has been achieved by a quarter of our sample which corresponds with our results showing most dwellings to be in multiple family buildings.

7.3 Building material used in dwelling. Table 96

361 362 Almost the entire city is built either of stone or concrete (94 %). The floors are usually of tile. The poverty stricken tin shacks represent a fraction of the total (3 %). Wood is much too expensive for construction purposes as it must be imported. One result of this is that fire is an almost non-existent danger. Beirut is probably better housed in all but the poorest sections than most metropolitan centers in the world.

1: Churchill 8-5 (1962) 1984 MFI Lebanon MFI

7.4 Number of floors in building, Table 97

342
342 The largest percentage of buildings in our sample were two stories in height (36 %) and the second largest group was of one story buildings (25 %). Tall buildings are relatively rare with only eight percent of the sample five stories or above.

7.5 State of building repair, Table 98

Only about one-fifth of the buildings were classified by the study as being in poor repair. Our definition of poor repair is a building in which extensive major repairs are necessary.

7.6 Age of building where household is located, Table 99

Approximately half (47 %) of the buildings in the sample are over twenty years of age, but the building boom in Beirut is shown by the unusually large percentage of relatively new buildings.

7.7 Permanency of building containing household, Table 100

Our residential sample indicated ten percent so-called "temporary buildings." Temporary is defined in the study as buildings not designed to be anything but temporary emergency shelters. The term is somewhat misleading because a large part of these so-called temporary buildings date back to those constructed to house the Armenian refugees who took refuge in Lebanon in the First World War. These are concentrated in the Medawar district. These places, plus shelters thrown up against permanent buil-

362 dings, constitute the physical housing problem
342 of Beirut.

7.8 **Incidence of garden plots attached to residences. Table 101**

342 A substantial part of the sample (41 %) live in buildings with adjoining garden plots. No attempt was made to analyze the size or usage of these plots.

7.9 **Number of dwelling rooms in building. Table 102**

The number of dwelling rooms per building has its highest incidence in the interval of four - six dwelling rooms per building (18 %) and decreases steadily until the catch-all category of over twenty-four.

7.10 **Number of people living in building. Table 103**

The concentration of people in buildings is shown in the table. The crude mode is eight per building but includes only twenty-two percent. It is hoped later to cross-tabulate the number of dwelling rooms in the buildings with the number of people.

7.11 **Number of families on floor of interviewed household. Table 104**

The great majority of the sample (67 %) are the sole occupants of the floors on which they reside. When those floors which accommodate only two families are added, we find that eighty-eight percent of the households are included.

7.12 **Number of rooms per household unit. Table 105**

The modal number of rooms per family apartment is four. This should be compared to the mean family size of 5.7.

427 7.13 **Terms of rental payment for dwelling. Table 106**

Rental payments are generally made either

p. 21 (A)

427 monthly (39 %) or yearly (30 %). When the owner and those not paying rent are subtracted, we find relatively few (6 %) who have other contract terms.

7.14 Location of kitchen facilities by privacy, Table 107

342 In investigating the adequacies of households in Beirut it was found that nine-tenths of the enumerated households had private kitchen facilities in the house. Cooking outside the house was principally for one-room shacks.

7.15 Location of toilet facilities in household, Table 108

[574] Toilet facilities in the buildings were found in over ninety percent of the sample. Of these, almost nine-tenths are private toilets. Arab types are found overwhelmingly.

7.16 Source of water in household, Table 109

312 365 Water, too, is piped into the overwhelming majority of houses (93 %) making relatively few who were forced to obtain water from outdoor cisterns or from more fortunate neighbors. In some cases, such as the agglomeration of tin shacks, a city faucet is the only source of water.

7.17 Type of lighting in household, Table 110

354 365 Lighting is by electricity in over nine-tenths of the households in the sample. Charateristically, electrical fixtures are ceiling lights suspended by cords. Lamps are used much less than in western cities, even where wall plugs are available. Less electricity is delivered to households due to a shortage of generating capacity. Almost all of the remaining households use oil lamps.

7.18 Type of heating in household, Table 111

354 Charcoal burners are the sole means of heat in over half of the houses (57 %). One-fifth of the houses have no means of heat; this is not surprising considering the relatively mild cli-

464

Table 93

Incidence of Work on Own Land for Those Working in Village for Part of Year

	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	91	100.00	
Yes	35	38.46	.050
No	38	41.76	.052
No answer	18	19.78	

342
361

Table 94

Type of Dwelling

Type	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1873	100.00	
One family house	340	18.15	.009
Multiple family	1211	64.66	.011
Combined dwelling & office	16	0.85	
Combined dwelling & commercial	250	13.35	.008
Combined dwelling & industrial	34	1.82	
Other	15	0.80	
No answer	7	0.37	

p. 53 (c)

12; Churchill S-5 [1956] 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

3412
363

Table 97

Number of Floors in Building

No. of Floors	Number	Percent
Total	1852	100.00
One	465	25.11
Two	672	36.28
Three	367	19.82
Four	193	10.42
Five	98	5.30
Six	38	2.05
More than six	15	0.81
No answer	4	0.21

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .030$
$v = .012$

Table 98

State of Building Repair

State of repair	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1825	100.00	
Good	714	39.12	.011
Fair	758	41.54	.011
Poor	348	19.07	.009
No answer	5	0.27	

p. 54 (a)

18; Churchill 6-5 (1952) 1964 MFI Lebanon MFI

p. 54(c)

Table 99

Age of Building where Household is Located

Age of building	Number	Percent
Total	1826	100.00
Less than 1 year	14	0.77
1 — 5 years	266	14.57
6 — 10 years	193	10.57
11 — 15 years	176	9.64
16 — 20 years	259	14.18
More than 20 years	858	46.99
No answer	60	3.28

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .203$

$v = .012$

342
562

Table 100

Permanency of Building Containing Household

Type of building	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1926	100.00	
Permanent	1727	89.67	.007
Temporary	199	10.33	.007

• 342

Table 101

Incidence of Garden Plots Attached to Residences

Garden plot	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1839	100.00	
Yes	748	40.67	.011
No	1087	59.11	.011
No answer	4	0.22	

p. 55(A)

19; Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

Table 102

Number of Dwelling Rooms in Building

No. of dwelling rooms	Number	Percent
Total	1853	100.00
1 – 3	236	12.74
4 – 6	328	17.70
7 – 9	229	12.36
10 – 12	271	14.62
13 – 15	174	9.39
16 – 18	132	7.12
19 – 21	111	5.99
22 – 24	83	4.48
More than 24	275	14.84
No answer	14	0.76

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .180$
$v = .015$

Table 103

Number of People Living in Building

No. of people	Number	Percent
Total	1854	100.00
1 – 5	225	12.14
6 – 10	401	21.63
11 – 15	343	18.50
16 – 20	275	14.83
21 – 25	183	9.87
26 – 30	109	5.88
31 – 35	81	4.37
Over 35	189	10.19
No answer	48	2.59

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .028$
$v = .015$

p. 55(a)

Table 104

Number of Families on Floor of Interviewed Household

No. of families	Number	Percent
Total	1853	100.00
One	1230	66.39
Two	398	21.48
Three	132	7.12
Four	38	2.05
Five	15	0.81
Six	7	0.38
Seven	5	0.27
Eight	2	0.11
Nine	2	0.11
Ten	-	-
More than ten	2	0.11
No answer	16	0.86

χ^2 = .023
ϕ = .015

Table 105

Number of Rooms Per Household Unit

No. of rooms	Number	Percent
Total	1833	100.00
One	140	7.64
Two	263	14.35
Three	322	17.57
Four	334	18.22
Five	280	15.27
Six	211	11.51
Seven	151	8.24
More than seven	132	7.20

χ^2 = .047
ϕ = .011

p. 55(c)

Table 106

Terms of Rental Payment for Dwelling

Rental payment terms	Number	Percent	sp
Total	1700	100.00	
[illegible]	656	38.59	.032
[illegible]	75	4.41	.005
[illegible]	30	1.76	
[illegible]	645	38.18	.011
[illegible]	645	38.06	.009
[illegible]	73	4.29	.005
[illegible]	11	0.71	

Table 107

Location of Kitchen Facilities by Privacy

Location of kitchen facilities	Number	Percent	sp
Total	1743	100.00	
Private in house	1558	89.44	.007
Shared in house	108	6.20	.006
Private outside	58	3.33	.004
Shared outside	20	1.15	

p. 56 (A)

16:Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

to the term, is impossible under present circumstances. The most important crops are olives, figs, and grapes, none of which requires irrigation in the growing season. The orchards and vineyards grow on terraced land which is situated generally on the lower parts of the ridge slopes and at the heads of the wadis. Some vegetables and a few small orchards of mulberries (remnants of the once predominant cash crop—silk) grow immediately adjacent to the houses.

Al-Munsif can be seen from a distance quite some time before the traveler enters it. The houses, varying in color from white to gray to tawny, are perched, one directly above another, it seems, on the southern slope of the ridge—a few are on the crest itself, at its highest point. They number about 90 and are typical of the Lebanese countryside. About one-quarter of them have the pitched roofs of red tile and other architectural features which are reminders of the decades before World War I. The majority, however, are of a much more ancient style, with few windows and a flat roof made of timbers and a thick layer of packed earth. In some cases, the old earth roofs have been recently replaced by cement ones. A few houses have been built completely anew in recent years, but with two exceptions they are not particularly different in general style from the older ones. Household furnishings and equipment show the unmistakable influence of industrialized Europe and America—mostly the former. Kerosene pressure lanterns and stoves have almost completely replaced older forms. Bedsteads, wardrobes, tables, and chairs—all of European manufacture and/or design—are used in every house. However, the village has no electricity and no system of running water.

From the observation of physical externals, one may easily deduce that al-Munsif partakes both of the traditional and of the recently imported (that is, since the late 19th century). It therefore reflects the tumultuous culture change which at present colors life in Lebanon and in the Middle East generally. But material aspects of culture are only fragmentary indications of behavior. In themselves, they reveal little of a specific nature concerning motivations, loyalties, hopes, fears, and expectations. How did al-Munsif, as a community of people, come into being? What are its traditional foundations of life? How, and to what extent, have its traditions been altered by the far-reaching cultural changes of the late 19th and 20th centuries? What problems face its people as a result of these changes?

II

According to tradition, al-Munsif was established by a man who came to the site from Jabal Hawran in Syria, after a sojourn in Baalbek. All the 523 members of the village are believed to be direct descendants of the founder, a belief which is indicated in a genealogy which is in the possession of the priest. There is some disagreement among the villagers on details

irrigated. The whole of the land is cultivated every year, the rotation being wheat followed by potatoes, the potato crop being irrigated. The wheat yield is below the average for Syria, amounting to 6 hundredweight per acre, and the potato yield is 5 hundredweight per acre.

However, in spite of the greater intensity of cultivation, the shortage of land means that the majority of the peasants are not able to attain an adequate standard of living, measured in terms of a few essential commodities: 20 kilogrammes of wheat and 4 kilogrammes of meat per head per month, 100 kilogrammes of olive oil per annum, and 5 tins of kerosene. To attain this standard a family must own 3 hectares of land, and as only the rich peasants and a few of the medium peasants own so much, the majority of the medium peasants and the poor landless peasants do not achieve it. The majority of these supplement their income by remittances from their emigrant relations abroad. Those who have no income from abroad leave the village to work as unskilled workers or servants in the towns.

In this village, therefore, the cause of poverty is the shortage of land, since the land is much more equally distributed than in Syria and the system fairly intensive. Living conditions are far better than in Syria: the majority inhabit stone houses with two or more rooms. The richer peasants are also more sophisticated than those of Syria, preferring to gamble their money away in the neighbouring summer resorts rather than spend it on jewellery.

From these three studies three conclusions emerge. The first is that a higher income per acre depends on irrigation, since the net income from irrigated land is two or three times as high as from non-irrigated land.

INCOME PER HECTARE ON IRRIGATED AND NON-IRRIGATED LAND (in Syrian Pounds)

	Ashrafie		Mishrefe		Kfar Sa'ab
	Non-Irrigated	Irrigated	Non-Irrigated	Irrigated	Irrigated
Gross Income	353	887	108	633	873
Costs	118	247	75	58	248
Rent	—	—	30	304	—
Net Income	234	640	84	233	625

[1] [Kfar Sa'ab in the north Lebanon -- Analyst]

their relatives abroad. The villages are less compact than in other parts of the Near and Middle East, and separate farmsteads are common. Extremes of poverty, associated with primitive standards of sanitation, are most frequently encountered in the villages of southern Lebanon. In the cities, substandard housing is found chiefly in the old, congested quarters and in the Armenian sections.

The typical dwellings in all parts of the country are constructed of stone, cement or concrete blocks, with a surface of whitewashed or tinted plaster. The roofs are of two general types: peaked and of red tile; or flat, with a covering of cement or of mud and brush. The houses vary in size from one to several rooms, sometimes with two or more stories. The use of wood as a building material is prohibited by the fire regulations in the towns, but small wooden shacks are occasionally seen on the outskirts.

Beirut is a cosmopolitan city, a mixture of Arabic and Western culture. The older parts of the city are overcrowded, with narrow streets lined by innumerable small shops, which frequently have living rooms in the rear. Apartment houses, interspersed with detached dwellings surrounded by colorful gardens, dominate the newer developments. Architecturally, all gradations are encountered between old Arab-style houses and modern villas.

ENVIRONMENT AND SANITATION

Water Supplies

Water supplies are obtained from streams, springs and wells, and, in general, are abundant in the coastal and the mountain districts but deficient in the interior. Beirut derives its water supply from the Nahr el Kelb, or Dog River, which is fed from an underground spring in the hills about 18 miles from the city. It flows by gravity through a tunnel and open canals to Dubaiya, 9 miles distant, where it is treated by preliminary rapid filtration, slow sand